

The Principia.

First Principles in Religion, Morals, Government, and the Economy of Life.

VOL. I.

NEW-YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 14, 1860.

NO. 35.

The Principia

Published Weekly, at 339 Pearl Street, (two doors above
Harpers' Buildings) New-York.

WILLIAM GOODELL, Editor.

SAMUEL WILDE, Proprietor.

TERMS: One Dollar a year, in advance.

Direct business letters, with remittances, to

MELANCTHON B. WILLIAMS, Publishing Agent,

as above.

PROSPECTUS.

Our object, by this publication, is to promote pure religion, sound morals, Christian reforms; the abolition of slaveholding, caste, the rum-traffic, and kindred crimes—the application of Christian principles to all the relations, duties, business arrangements, and aims of life;—to the individual, the family, the Church, the State, the Nation—to the work of converting the world to God, restoring the common brotherhood of man, and rendering Society the type of heaven. Our text book is the Bible; our standard, the Divine law of expediency, obedience; our plan, the Gospel; our trust, the Divine promises; our panoply, the whole armor of God.

—Editors friendly, please copy, or notice.

THE AMERICAN OLIGARCHY—WHEREIN LIES ITS STRENGTH!

NUMBER FOURTEEN.

CONCLUSION OF THE EVIDENCE THAT THE ENSLAVEMENT OF THE WHITES HAS ALREADY COMMENCED, AND IS MAKING STEADY PROGRESS.

Since we have been writing these numbers on "an embryo caste of white slaves," we have received a communication from a professed anti-slavery man, over his own signature, in which he makes himself merry at the idea of a white "Yankee man and woman on the auction block," as though such a sight had never been seen, and never could be! If that man reads the papers, or ever read history, his memory needs to be jogged. How many centuries is it since our English ancestors were carried to Ireland, and sold as slaves to the Irish, a race whom the New York Day Book has lately proposed to enslave? "Are we," (Yankees) better than they? No; in no wise." We fear "the spirit of Liberty" is not as high-toned among the trafficking sons of New England, to-day, as it is among the black sons of the South. Europe sees, if we cannot, that the heroes of this age, in America, are the slaves, who brave and endure everything to escape. The only names that redeem the reputation for heroism, of our white Americans, are those of John Brown and his white associates at Harper's Ferry.

When the story of *Mary Gilmore*, the Irish girl, born in Ireland, kidnapped in Philadelphia, and enslaved at the South, was first published, near thirty years ago, it was scarcely believed. Newspaper paragraphs relating similar occurrences now, are becoming stale,—are passed over as monotonous. When the Ohio papers told of a poor white woman kidnapped in Ohio and carried over the river, some few years since, we expected to hear something more about it. We even thought it possible that the Ohio authorities, too regardful of the "State rights" of Kentucky, to shelter her fugitives from slavery, would at least demand her own kidnapped matron. But we heard nothing further!

It was, we think, in 1857, that a young man fled from Savannah to Charleston, and was advertised as being "so white as to pass for a white man," as in truth he did, at a hotel in Charleston, and as such, took passage for New York, in a vessel, along with other white passengers. The Government officials at New York and Brooklyn, were duly notified by telegraph to be on the alert to seize him, when the vessel should arrive, and his person was minutely described. The search took place. Among the passengers, was a "Yankee" mechanic, returning home from a temporary sojourn at the South. The United States dignitaries, selected him as the fugitive slave, not suspecting the one of whom they were in pursuit, and pounced upon him accordingly. The young mechanic was in trouble. It was in vain that he protested his freedom and place of nativity

in New England, of pure Anglo-Saxon descent. "Could he find any one to recognize and identify him?" If not, he must be sent to Savannah as a slave, for the burden of proof lay on him to prove his freedom, not upon the officer to prove him a slave. For a time he despaired. He could think of no one in either of our two cities, whom he knew, or who knew him. At last he thought of one of his townsmen, who possibly might be here; remembered the street and number, sent for him, and by a singular providence, secured his presence just in time to save him from slavery! Had it been otherwise, a case of "a live Yankee on the auction block" would have soon been witnessed, without a question, and that would have been the last of it. For the claimant of the real fugitive who telegraphed for him, did so, with the knowledge that he was legally free! The fortunate fugitive escaped. In company with a good abolitionist, he rode publicly in the cars through New England into Canada, in company with his official pursuers, who, at times, sat by his side, and could not identify, even if they suspected him. This is one instance out of hundreds of white fugitives, perhaps, yearly, some of whom are caught, and some of whom escape.

The process of slaveholding amalgamation, is not the only source or inlet of white slavery. Whites, especially children of poor and thriftless parents, are kidnapped and secretly carried into slavery. Sometimes they are colored by a dye made for the purpose. But since white slaves are now becoming so common, that—as we have seen—a white color is no longer regarded presumptive evidence of freedom, with our Federal officials, even here, at the North, there is less occasion for the coloring process, by kidnappers.

Another source of white slavery has been more recently discovered, which deserves increased attention. Poor white children at the South, are not only exposed, constantly, to the danger of being kidnapped, amid the usages and arrangements of slavery, but their degraded parents, relatives and natural guardians, sometimes sell them to the planters. Especially is this the case with the "sand hillers" and other "white trash," so proverbially more degraded than the negroes. The number of these is great, and is increasing. Already has there been talk of legislation in some of the States for taking care of them—in other words, for enslaving them. What should hinder the process? The Southern doctrine that slavery is for those who are "inferior, and cannot take care of themselves," would seem peculiarly appropriate in this case. The plea of slaveholders, so favorably regarded by pro-slavery clergymen at the North, of "benevolent slaveholding;" "holding slaves for their own good;" "by the golden rule," could never, perhaps, be more plausibly, or more forcibly urged, than in favor of enslaving these poor whites of the South. That slaveholders do sometimes buy white children of their poor parents, and make slaves of them, is a known fact. To how great an extent the practice prevails, we cannot tell. But it is undoubtedly on the increase, as being more profitable than buying negroes from Africa.

That wealthy parents who sell their own children, and who beget and rear them for that very purpose—(and the very first gentlemen in Virginia, do this,)—would have any scruples of conscience in purchasing a fresh "stock of breeders," from their poor neighbors, at cheap rates, it would be ridiculous to suppose, especially when elegant, young, white female slaves, sell at such extravagant prices, in the New Orleans market. No process of slave breeding could be more lucrative than that of buying female children for a trifle, and rearing them for the seraglios, or making them become the mothers of children to be thus reared.

That poor degraded white people, who see their wealthy neighbors selling their own children, should be too proud, or too humane, or too tenderly parental in their feelings, to sell theirs, (especially in the prospect of promoting them

to the same honor with the daughters—even white daughters—of wealthy planters,) would be to suppose them more proud, more humane, or more tenderly parental in feeling, than their envied and idolized betters!

Whoever thinks of these things must see the inevitable establishment of a caste of white slaves, or of slavery irrespective of color or race, if slaveholding is to be permitted to continue.

And let it be remembered, that politicians, candidates, conventions, platforms, and parties pledged "to let slavery alone in the States where it already exists," are pledged in advance, or rather during the progress of this enslavement of whites, to let it alone, and see it go on, without any molestation whatever!

Fellow citizens! Will you vote for it, by voting for Breckinridge, or Douglas, or Bell, or Lincoln? Will you? If you will, do not complain if a retributive Providence permits you to "eat of your own ways and be filled with your own devices," by thus voting your great grand-children slaves.

Taking into consideration this three-fold machinery for bringing large masses of the whites into slavery, all three of which are in active operation already, and the facilities for which, with the yearly increase of white slaves, must be constantly increasing, in a geometrical ratio—the three fold process, we mean, of commingling the races, kidnapping white persons, and purchasing the children of degraded white people—the question of the general prevalence of white slavery, IF THE PRACTICE OF SLAVEHOLDING BE MUCH LONGER PERMITTED, is evidently a question only of time.

A little attention to the arithmetic of geneology will show this, and how utterly impossible it is for any gentleman or lady, no matter how high in social standing or rank, to conjecture the status of their posterity, if they have any, in such a country as ours, a few generations hence.

Every child has 2 parents, 4 grand-parents, 8 great grand-parents, 16 great great grand-parents, and so on, doubling the number with each generation in which the line of descent is traced upwards towards a remote period. Let any school-boy, with his slate and pencil, pursue the computation but for a few moments, by the easy process of multiplying each successive product by the digit 2, and the result will soon become apparant.

The products will run thus—2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 128, 256, 512, 1,024, 2,048, &c., &c. Pursue the multiplication 24 times, and you have the number of direct ancestors, that pertain to every person now living, reckoning back but 24 generations. And the number will exceed *Thirty four millions!* The precise number, if we mistake not, is 34,578,432. And allowing 30 years to a generation, the 24 generations will have occupied but the space of 720 years,—just three times the period that has elapsed since the landing at Plymouth—the "day before yesterday" as it were, of our national history.

Now for the application of this. The child that will be born in America 720 years from the landing at Plymouth, or 480 years hence, tracing back his geneology to the first settlement of this country, will have a direct ancestry of upwards of 34 millions, a greater number than the entire population of the United States, at present, counting blacks, whites, mulattoes, slaveholders, slaves, dough-faces, and all. Your descendants, kind reader, if you shall have any in this country, A. D. 2340, will have that vast number of ancestors, running back to A. D. 1620. Who knows the color, race, and status, of all that vast number, who, equally with yourself, are to be the fore-fathers and fore-mothers of your posterity? In a nation wherein one-sixth or one-seventh of all the people are slaves, and where slaves and slaveholders are continually commingling, what security have you that your

children's children are, none of them, to be the slaves? and worse still, others of them to be the cruel task masters? Why should it fare better with you in this respect, than with Jefferson, Martha Washington, and nearly all the great names of the South?

Do you say you are a New Englander, and in that your children are in no danger of becoming enslaved? Think again. Do intermarriages never take place, between the families of the North and of the South? Are there no congratulations, and no envyings, when a plain New England farmer's son marries the daughter of a rich Southern planter? Or when the daughter of a Northern merchant, physician, or clergyman, marries a rich planter or planter's son? Would you, fathers and mothers, who may read this object, strenuously, against an alliance of this sort, with one of the most wealthy and honored slaveholding families of the South? Would you? Perhaps you are an abolitionist. Even if you are, are you quite certain that you would not? Are you sure, that with all your denunciations against slaveholders, you would not, yourself, feel honored by the opportunity of allying yourself to the ruling caste, the *Oligarchy* of your country?

Perhaps you would not. But as an antidote against temptation, remember that the Northern father or mother, whose son or daughter marries into a slaveholding family, or who, even, without thus marrying, settles down, permanently, in a slave State, runs the hazard of more than a thousand against one, that a portion at least, of his or her posterity, if any remain to them, in the second and third generation, will be slaves, whatever their complexion may be, though they will doubtless be dark colored, more or less, for generations to come. Every Northern white family that has family connections at the South, should regard it more than probable that they have blood relations there, of a darker complexion than themselves, who are held as slaves, though they will never be introduced to them as relatives, nor hear any mention made of them. The probability rises almost to a certainty, whenever they are told by their Southern cousins of the mildness of slavery, and of the happy and contented condition of the slaves. We say this, neither by way of retort, nor in irony, but as a statement of a sober truth, which no honest and competent witness will be likely to dispute. And we extend the remark with emphasis, to cases wherein Northern young men, after a brief residence, or perhaps temporary sojourn at the South, return home to vindicate slavery, and swagger about "the rights of the South." Not one in a hundred of them come home pure men, unpolluted by contact with slaves. It is idle to dream of continued slavery, in such a country, without its resulting in a caste of white slaves, connected by ties of close affinity, with the whole country.

The arithmetic of geneology, applied in an inverse direction, would illustrate the same truth. Trace the descent downward, instead of the ascent, upward, and the hazards are equally perilous.

You are a Father or a Mother—the head of a rising family, at the North. As your geneology branches backward, through all the families of the generations before you, so your posterity, if you shall leave and perpetuate any, will, in like manner, branch out into the families that are yet to come after you. Some of the ancestors of your posterity may be yet in Germany, in Ireland, in China or Japan. Very probably many of them may be in Guinea, rearing children that will yet be captured and brought to America to be the grandfathers and grand-mothers of your great-great-grand children. And almost certainly, should your son or your daughter marry into a slaveholders' family, there is already in the kitchen or on the plantation whither they are going, a mulatto slave progeny, awaiting their destiny to become the cousins of your grand-children, if you should have any, as the fruit of such marriage. Think of this, kind reader, whether old or young, whenever you read in the papers a pompous announcement like the following:—

"Married, by Rev. Dr. McFungus, at—Hon. J. C. Lawless, Member of Congress—Florida, to Miss—daughter of—banker, New-York."

A little common sense and common arithmetic, will enable any person to foresee, in every such announcement of marriage, a foundation for a posterity of slaves, first yellow, then dubious, then white, and ultimately numbering by millions, in ages to come, unless the "fanatical abolitionists"

should succeed in abolishing slavery.—The parties, in such a marriage, together with their parents and friends on both sides, may be confidently set down as pledged "not to interfere with slavery where it exists, in the slave States"—though morally certain that the fruits of that marriage, if considerable in numbers, will include a posterity of slaves.

Let one of our school-boys, take up the slate and pencil, and "cypher" again, and see.

Suppose a father and mother have 4 children. Suppose each of these has 4 children. This makes 16 grand-children.—But stop. Some of these will die, childless.—Suppose then, you have but 2 children who will have children, 2 apiece;—that these will have 2 more, who will be parents, and so on. We will multiply by 2 as before.—You will then have, by computation, 2 children, 4 grand-children, 8 great-grand-children, 16 great-great-grand-children, and so on. A moderate computation, it must be allowed. But in 24 generations, or 720 years, it will count up to more than 34 millions, as before. But these millions will not be exclusively your descendants. They will likewise be the descendants of the 34 millions, (nobody knows who, or from whence) of whom we were figuring, before.—Now, if slavery is to continue, in this country, what probable or even possible chance have you, that none of the millions of your posterity will be slaves? What protection will your color be, or theirs, in a country like this, a few generations hence, —especially if every mother's son of them, in imitation of your example, continues to vote for Presidents and members of Congress, pledged, by their parties and their platforms, "not to interfere with slavery in the States where it already exists, under the shield of STATE SOVEREIGNTY?"

"State Sovereignty" to make your grand-children slaves? Father! Mother! What do you think of it? How much of the spirit of liberty can those retain, who can consent to it?—Or what prospect is there that those who now consent to it, in respect to the children of others, will successfully resist it, in respect to their own?—Listen to WILLIAM PINCKNEY, the great statesman of Maryland.

"For my own part, I have no hope that the stream of general liberty will flow, forever, unpolluted, through the mire of partial bondage, or that they who have been habituated to lord it over others, will not, in time, become base enough to let others lord it over them. If they resist, it will be the struggle of pride and selfishness not of principle." *Speech in the Maryland House of Delegates, 1789.*

The retributions of Divine Providence may seem tardy, but they are sure, and not distant. Universal history, as a comment upon God's word, attests this.—"Because sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily, therefore the heart of the sons of men is fully set in them to do evil."

"Whoso stoppeth his ears at the cry of the poor, he also shall cry himself, but shall not be heard."—"For the Lord hath rejected and forsaken the generation of his wrath."—"For, I, the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, upon the third and fourth generation of them that hate me."—"Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of the least of these, ye did it unto me."—"Who hath hardened himself against God, and hath prospered?"

Thus much for "the guilty fantasy" of preserving white freedom without putting a stop to black slavery." Practical atheism never sank deeper into the abyss of impiety and absurdity, than that attempt.

LORD BROUGHAM, ex-chancellor of England, "delivered a speech recently, in the House of Lords on the horrors of the slave trade, and the iniquity of American slavery"—whereupon the *N. Y. Herald* reads his Lordship a lecture upon "the want of logic, in his attempts to confound the African Slave-trade to Cuba, and the institution of domestic slavery in the United States. "The one," says the *Herald* "is an inhuman traffic, the other is a question as to the best social and political status of four millions of ignorant, incapable, and inferior beings in a community of thirty millions of the most active, intelligent and energetic of men."

Lord Brougham will be greatly instructed by Mr. James Gordon Bennett's *Herald*, no doubt. We commend the *Herald* to the patronage of the D.D.'s who condemn the slave system but defend pious slaveholding.

MRS. STOWE'S return home is announced in some of the papers accompanied by a rumor that she is about to furnish the public with another story, through the *Atlantic Monthly*.

WAY-MARKS IN THE MORAL WAR WITH SLAVERY.

BY REV. HENRY T. CHEEVER.
NO. XIV.

In our investigation of the relations of American Churches to slavery, and to the alleged "almost universally repeated principle of church discipline," that excludes slaveholders from the communion table, we now reach the large and influential family of orthodox Congregational churches.

The moral and christian sense of these churches against the sin of slaveholding, has found expression in two ways, first, through the action of local and general associations of ministers, associations of ministers and churches, which have dealt with the subject of slavery, and which have, in some instances, refused correspondence with ecclesiastical bodies tolerating slavery, as unwilling to be partakers in others sins; and second, through the recorded testimony, from time to time, of particular churches, and their refusal of fellowship with slaveholders.

Of all the representatives of the Congregational Denomination, the Evangelical Consociation of Rhode Island has, perhaps, most truly reflected the views of a majority of the Congregational churches of New England. In connection with its report on fellowship with slavery, in the year 1854, it was resolved by that Body,

"That this Consociation, with a view to bear its solemn and emphatic testimony against the system of American slavery, will refrain from appointing a delegate to any ecclesiastical body who tolerates slaveholding among its ministers or churches."

In support of this Resolution the Report argued at length, and with great ability, the duty of withdrawing fellowship from slaveholders. The following are pertinent extracts from that Report. After laying down, as a basis of Christian correspondence and spiritual fellowship, the two conditions of *Doctrinal belief*, and *Practical Morality*, the Report continues:

"That flagrant immoralities are as liable as pernicious errors, to creep into the Christian fold, is the clear record of history. It was a vicious practice in the Church, which first roused the great Reformer to his struggle with the papacy; and some of the grossest forms of wickedness are still sheltered in the bosom of professedly Christian churches. Many of our American churches are included in this condemnation. They are implicated in the heavy guilt of oppression; they bear the burden of an awful responsibility, for the perpetuation of that system of slavery, repugnant to every sentiment of natural and revealed religion, which degrades man to a brute and a chattel, and makes merchandise of the image of God. There are ministers of the gospel and church-members connected with ecclesiastical bodies, with which we are in correspondence, who by the aid of unrighteous and inhuman laws, can use the labor of their fellow-beings without wages; can arbitrarily and permanently separate husbands and wives, parents and children, sisters and brothers; can debar immortal beings, in a Christian land, from access to the word of life, (from which they pretend to derive their warrant for such heathenism;) can sell their fellow-Christians at auction for their own pecuniary benefit, without any forfeiture of their regular standing as church-members and ministers of the gospel. There are scores and hundreds of churches in our land, in which not one of these practices is treated as a disciplineable offense.

"We are convinced that the Church is the present stronghold of slavery in this Republic, and that if professing Christians, in the spirit of their Master, had borne their consistent testimony against it, it would long since have ceased to vex our politics. In this view we are confirmed by the history of emancipation; it was through the action of the Church, that the evil was expelled from our own borders. One of the churches belonging to our body, is said to have been the first in this country, (the Friends, perhaps, excepted,) to lay the ban of excommunication on slaveholding. This commonwealth participated largely in the iniquitous gains of slavery; Bristol and Newport, especially, were deeply involved in the slave-trade, and wealth and social influence were arrayed in its support. But a moral influence, stronger than all, was brought to bear against it, for the Congregational Church in the latter town fortunately possessed, in its pastor, a man not more eminent as a learned divine, than as a practical reformer—Dr. Samuel Hopkins, whose grave is still with us and honored as the sepulchre of a prophet. No minister of the gospel in the Southern States occupies at this day a position, requiring more of the martyr-spirit for a faithful exhibition, from the pulpit, of the guilt of American slavery, than was demanded in Newport, in the year 1770. But the pastor was equal to the crisis.

"He believed that if he lifted his voice in behalf of the bondman, he should advance the interests of his race and the honor of his Maker. He offered himself as a sacrifice; he did it deliberately, solemnly. Anticipating the indignation of his people, and the

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ger of the community, he preached a sermon against the kidnapping, and purchasing, and retaining of slaves. A New England poet, [Whittier] has said. "It may well be doubted whether, on that sabbath day, the angels of God, in their wide survey of his universe, looked upon a nobler spectacle than that of the minister of Newport, rising up before his slaveholding congregation, and demanding, in the name of the Highest, the deliverance of the captive and the opening of prison doors to them that were bound."—*Works* 1: 157.

His persevering labors in the cause were crowned, at length, with complete success; and under date of March 5, 1784, seventy years ago, the following resolution, in his own handwriting, appears on the records of the church, marking the brightest page in its history.

"Voted, That the slave-trade and the slavery of the Africans, as it has taken place among us, is a gross violation of the righteousness and benevolence which are so much inculcated in the gospel; and therefore we will not tolerate it in this church."

This vote was the death-warrant of slavery in Rhode Island. The next year, 1785; we read that "a number of churches in New England have purged themselves of this iniquity, and determined not to tolerate the holding of Africans in slavery."

We are here furnished, in the proceedings both of the Pastor and the Church, with a happy illustration of the manner in which the present slave States are to be freed from the curse, if it is to be extinguished by Christian and peaceable means. Individual churches and ecclesiastical organizations must begin the work of self-purification, and proceed with it until the whole Christian body is clear of the evil; and its existence in the Republic will then be short-lived.

"Let the time come, when, in all the denominations of Christians it can be announced that the evil is ceased with them forever; and let the voice of each denomination be, lifted up in kind, but firm and solemn testimony against the system; with no mealy words with no attempt at apology, with no wish to blink it, with no effort to throw the sacred shield of religion over so great an evil—and the work is done. There is no public sentiment in this land—there could be none created—that could resist the power of such a testimony. There is no power out of the church that could sustain slavery an hour, if it were not sustained in it."

(Albert Barnes.—Scriptural Views of slavery, p. 185.)

"But it is said there is nothing new in the connection of these bodies with this evil, and why should we discontinue a correspondence which we proposed? Because new light has been thrown upon the whole subject; and both their obligations and ours, if not greater than before, are better understood. It is hardly more than a quarter of a century, since excellent religious men were engaged in the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks as a beverage, without any forfeiture of their Christian standing. The evils of intemperance were not less than they now are; but light has been shed on the morality of that traffic, and it is now banished from the Church. The evils of slavery are not greater than they formerly were; but the guilt of slaveholding is greater, in view of the light which the present century has accumulated on this question. And this more than justifies us, in taking higher ground than our predecessors took, a quarter of a century ago."

"It is said that we have sins of our own, which it behooves us to put away, before withdrawing our fellowship from slaveholders. We do not claim to be free from sin, nor that we have not abundant reason for personal humiliation and penitence. But we are not cognizant of any sin which is tolerated among us; and if we are incurring any reproach, we should like to have it specified. We know of no system of iniquity, like slavery, which has entrenched itself in our churches; if any such has been discovered by others, let them have the kindness to name it, and we engage either to repudiate and expel it, or to justify all good men in withdrawing from us their confidence."

"It is said that there is a latent anti-slavery sentiment in the Southern Churches, which, if left to itself, will correct the evil; and that proceedings like this only restrain its development." This story, which has been long repeated and believed by many, is destined to gain little further credence. The views and feelings of professing Christians in the South, have been thoroughly tested, the present year, not with reference to the abolition of slavery, but to its extension and perpetuation; and the hollowness of their anti-slavery pretensions has been most lamentably exposed. While the whole land has been deeply agitated by the proposed and effected violation of a compact which the South should have deemed sacred, menacing the dearest interests of freedom and humanity, and the safety of our Republic, and while a few southern statesmen have, with rare courage, denounced the villainy, the ministers and churches of the South have been portentously dumb; the unholy act has been consummated, without a word of remonstrance from them. Henceforth, we understand their position; it must now be patent to all, that there will be no efficient anti-slavery sentiment among them, until the North has taken higher ground. All surrounding Christendom must utterly discard and disfellowship the frightful enormity to which they cling, before they will make any effort to free themselves from its fatal embrace."

"It is said that slaveholding is not in all cases sinful, and that in declaring non-fellowship with it, we confound the guilty and the innocent. It is cheerfully granted, that a person, who is not in heart a slaveholder, may sustain the outward relation for a season, simply with a view to the complete emancipation of the slave. Owing to obstructions created, purposely, by slave laws, this forced temporary relation may be a necessary part of the process of legal manumission. Instances like these, (would that they were more numerous!) are exceptions to the general rule of slavery, and do not require us to modify any general statement respecting the system: for no one construes it as applying

to such exceptional cases. This may be clearly illustrated by reference to another practice. The American Tract Society, among the sterling issues of its press, devotes not less than twenty-five tracts, in its general series, to the exhibition of the evils of Intemperance; and arraigning the guilty authors of the mischief, is unqualified and unsparing in its denunciations of the makers and venders of alcoholic poison. This Society, which stands dumb in the presence of American Slavery, anxiously suppressing any censure of its abominations, even in the faintest breath, waxeth very bold in its alarms to distillers and its warnings to rum-sellers. Now under existing laws, there are men engaged in the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors, for proper and praiseworthy ends—no persons in the community more honorable than they, and no calling more reputable than theirs. In the technical sense in which some men may be slaveholders, these men are distillers and rum-sellers; but they are not the class whom, under those names, the Tract Society so righteously denounces, and are never confounded with them. In like manner, when we arraign slaveholding without qualification, no class are further from feeling aggrieved, than those who sustain the external relation, solely for the purpose of effectually emancipating their slaves, at the earliest practical moment. Their relation is a constrained one, caused by the system against which our efforts are directed, and our condemnation of which, in all its features, so far from doing them an injustice, is an acceptable aid to them. And the fastidiousness which objects to a hearty denunciation of slavery and slaveholders, because, forsooth, there is some actual, or possible, or conceivable form of the nominal relation, which does not necessarily involve personal guilt, would seem to argue either an unfortunate mental idiocracy, or a want of genuine sympathy with freedom. When the Church in Newport declared that it would not "tolerate slavery," the language was perfectly definite; and the similar phraseology of the resolution before us is equally intelligible. It is a blow aimed at guilty American slaveholders, and at nothing else; and it will wear no other aspect to any candid mind.

"The example of other ecclesiastical bodies, and of prominent benevolent societies, is appealed to, in support of our present usage. In the decision of a moral question we are to be governed, not by example, but by principle. Somebody must always take the lead in breaking up an improper custom. If it be now an honor to one of the churches of this body, that it was the first in New England to eject slavery from church-communication, it will not be less to the honor of this Consociation, in coming years, that it was foremost among our State Associations, in withdrawing fellowship from the same iniquity. That the evil has found shelter and impunity in our Mission-churches, is a disgrace to our Christianity. The American Board cannot reach it there by ecclesiastical process; and its only method of relieving the churches which contribute to its treasury, of any support of slavery, is by refusing to sustain, with their funds, missionary pastors over slaveholding churches. Its reason for declining to take this course, has been recently stated as follows:

"We have not supposed it to be the proper way of conducting Christian Missions, to go and say to a people, 'If you will not abandon your sins, you shall be deprived of the Gospel.' The Board does not manage its missions in this way."—*Jour. of Miss. March* 1854.

"Of course, the Board does not manage in that way; it could have no missions if it did. To say to a people, 'If you will not abandon your sins, you shall be deprived of the Gospel,' is one thing; to say to them, 'If you will not abandon your sins, you cannot, through our missionaries, be admitted to Christian fellowship,' is another, and a very different thing. The one is a threat to leave them to their heathenism; the other is an attempt to convert them to a pure Christianity."

"No aspect of our public affairs is more disheartening, than the manifest decline of the spirit of liberty; and for this sad result our churches must be held mainly responsible. We have been watching, with intense anxiety, the proceedings of Congress; it is time for us to look into the proceedings of our Churches and Ecclesiastical Bodies, for our legislation will never be purer than our morals, nor will our morality exceed our spiritual standards. The problem of our national destiny will find its solution in our churches, for the question whether our Republic shall be ephemeral or immortal, is involved in the question, whether our Christianity shall be corrupt or pure. Our public men, of the present day, have not, as a body, swerved more widely from the principles and aims of the early founders of our government, than our ministers and churches, as a body, have departed from the elevated ethics of Hopkins and Edwards, who, with masterly logic, condemned slaveholding as essentially criminal, "a very great and crying sin, there being nothing of the kind equal to it on the face of the earth," as "robbery" and "manstealing," yea, as "a greater crime than fornication, theft, or robbery;" and who, with theological consistency, urged the instant renunciation of the sin, and demonstrated the duty and safety of immediate emancipation. The bitter fruits of wretched compromises, which we are gathering, in the State, have grown on the tree of degenerate principles in the Church."

Much more might be quoted from this eminently able and conclusive Report, and from the spirited debate upon its adoption. The action thus solemnly adopted by the Rhode

Island Consociation, taken in connection with the public discussion, may be said to have constituted an era in the progress of Congregational Churches, anti-slavery-wise. Its influence was felt in all the churches of New England.

EUROPE.

By the steamers *Ætna*, *Fulton*, and *Palestine*, London and Liverpool news has been received, to the 28th June.

The Sicilian insurrection is still the predominant subject of exciting interest. It is not believed that it will be confined to Sicily, and the general impression is that the King's promised Constitution has been offered too late to save him from destruction. A well-founded rumor was current that he had sanctioned a design to assassinate Garibaldi; if so, he would probably have to forfeit more, in the end, than his throne.—*Times*.

Some anxiety has been felt here (Florence,) for several days, on account of the report received from Naples, of the capture by an armed steamer belonging to that power, of an American vessel having on board 800 or 900 Italian volunteers on their way to join the forces of Garibaldi.—*Ib*.

The Government of Rome evidently does not feel at all reassured by the events which are succeeding each other in the extreme south of Italy. The ruin with which it is menaced makes it cast about with anxiety, but does not yet make it relent. Gen. Lamoriciere must be reduced nearly to the verge of despair.—*Ib*.

The Council of the King of Sicily are thoroughly frightened, as also the King himself, who was lately sick from the operation of terror, as soon as Napoleon's letter refusing to interpose on behalf of the Neapolitan despot was read at the Council. The Council adopted the following propositions on the 22d ult.:

1. The adoption of a constitution.
2. A general amnesty to be granted.
3. A total change of ministry.
4. Italian alliance with Piedmont.
5. The Italian flag to be adopted.

These propositions were voted by a majority of nine against three. The King hesitated for three days to give his consent, but at length, on the 25th, decreed by a sovereign act a general amnesty to all political offenders, constitutional and representative institutions, and Italian principles to the kingdom of Naples, with similar institutions and a vicerey for Sicily; a new government to be formed immediately and the necessary statutes passed. To crown all, an agreement to be made with the King of Sardinia for the adoption of the tri-color flag.

The grant of the constitution is said to be at the instance of the French Emperor; certain it is that he is the indirect cause of it by his refusal to interpose.—*Herald*.

The *Arabia* brings European advices to 1st inst.

The concessions of the King of Naples prove unsatisfactory.

"The revolutionary element in Naples is very active. Inflammatory proclamations had been circulated, calling on the people to rise. The commissaries of the twelve districts of Naples, were simultaneously attacked and pillaged on the 28th ult., the archives burned, and the Government agents killed. The French Ambassador had been assaulted in the streets and benten senseless. The King had granted a new liberal constitution, a new cabinet had been formed, and the capital proclaimed in a state of siege. The release of the two American vessels captured by the Neapolitans, had been ordered."—*Herald*.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN ITALY.—Perfect religious liberty for all Protestants has been proclaimed by the legislative assemblies of Parma, Modena, Tuscany, and the Legations—Naples, Venetia, and the Papal states being now the only remaining states of Italy in which the free organization of Protestant congregations is still forbidden. There is a Presbytery of the North of Italy, embracing Nice, Genoa, Leghorn, Florence, Malta, Gibraltar, Pau, and Cantones.—*The World*.

PRINCE OF WALES.—It is expected that the youthful Prince of Wales, son of Queen Victoria, and heir apparent of the British throne, will soon visit Canada, and extend his tour to the United States. It is said and is to be hoped, that he will avoid all public receptions and parades. This will save a great expense, and a still greater evil of dissipation and folly. A rational tour of the Prince in the States might be useful to him, and a future benefit to both countries.

MR. BRECKINRIDGE, in his Letter of acceptance, after stating the doctrine and argument of his party, for a Federal protection of slavery, in the Territories, says, very sensibly—"The only logical answer to this, would seem to be, to claim Sovereignty for the Territories, or to deny that the Constitution recognizes property in the service of negro slaves, or to deny that such property can exist."

The Principia.

NEW-YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 14, 1860.

DR. WADDINGTON—MR. BATCHELOR, OF GLASGOW
—THE INDEPENDENT, &c.

Dr. WADDINGTON of England, was lately in this country, as will be remembered, on a "begging expedition" in behalf of a Congregational Church in London, (to help build for it a high steeple), and was taken under the auspices of the same sort of Congregationalists who are terribly scandalized at the "begging" of funds from Congregationalists in England to support Dr. Cheever and the Church of the Puritans, in their anti-slavery testimony in New York. Some of his (Dr. W's) utterances on the slavery question, at Philadelphia, while in this country, having been reported in the papers, and re-published in England, have brought upon him the criticisms of some of his brethren there; whereupon he writes a letter of complaint to *The Independent* of New York. We do not find in the letter any statement or intimation that his "utterances at the Missionary Convention at Philadelphia," were either misquoted or misunderstood. We do not see, therefore, on what grounds he considers himself "assailed" nor why *The Independent* should speak of him, in the Editorial that follows, as having been "slandered."

"We regret that Dr. W. has been annoyed by misrepresentations from this country touching his position on the subject of slavery. Here, where the authorship of these slanders is known, they have no weight whatever. As to the opposition of Mr. Batchelor of Glasgow, if we may judge of that gentleman's spirit and capacity by a recent speech of his, reported in *The Glasgow Examiner*, we should think Dr. Waddington could well survive that. Mr. Batchelor has simply made himself the butt of all well-informed persons in this country who have chanced to see his effusion. How a man of his reputed standing could have the assurance to palm off upon an audience as an original speech, the rehash of articles from infidel abolition organs in this country, and could adopt their slang concerning his Christian brethren, assailing men by name, with most ludicrous blunders as to their relative positions on the slavery question—all this is matter of surprise to those who do not take into account the ignorance of willfulness, and the willfulness of ignorance. We should be ashamed of any American minister of ordinary intelligence, who should betray such ignorance of Ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland, with all their complexity, as the Reverend Mr. Batchelor has exhibited in almost every allusion to the American churches. One example will suffice. Speaking of the Fugitive-Slave law, he says: 'This nefarious measure was received by the majority of the clergy in guilty silence, and by not a few with still more guilty acquiescence.' He then quotes a few detestable sayings from Drs. Spring, Parker, Spencer, Rogers, Prof. Stuart, and others,—all which doubtless he found to his hand, in some single pamphlet forwarded from this country,—and professes to believe that these fairly represent the opinions of the ministers of Christ in the United States, on the Fugitive-Slave law. We could give the gentleman scores of published sermons against that law, and these only represent hundreds more that were preached against the measure as soon as it was announced. We assure Dr. Waddington that the Glasgow fulminations cannot inflict the least harm upon his reputation or his cause. The best use of the Glasgow fund would be to send the speakers over here to make the acquaintance of the men whom they have so wantonly assailed."

We are glad to believe that there were scores, if not hundreds, among the many thousands of clergymen in this country, who preached against the so-called "Fugitive Slave law," a considerable number of whose sermons were, in different localities, published. But we fail to see how this fact conflicts with the statement of Mr. Batchelor of Glasgow, above quoted—a statement which "any American minister of ordinary intelligence" and conscientiousness would be backward, we should think, to contradict,—unless upon the assumption that such "silence" or "acquiescence" was not "guilty." We should like to see *The Independent's* list of the "Scores of published Sermons," and hundreds of preachers against the Fugitive Slave Act, and to be told which of them do not belong to the class that *The Independent* regards as either heretical or fanatical. If convenient, we should like to know which, if any of them, who thus preached, agrees with *The Independent* in maintaining that "a good and true man, hating Slavery and believing the Act to be unjust, if not unconstitutional, might nevertheless

execute it in good faith." With these facts before them, Congregationalists in England would better understand the statements and the positions of *The Independent*. And with this information they might, perhaps, return to us their verdict upon the question—which is most "detestable" an open and bold defense of the "nefarious measure,"—or a confession of its iniquitous character coupled with justifications of its official enforcement.

"NO MORE SLAVE STATES."

FREDERICK DOUGLAS' PAPER—THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

IN THE PRINCIPIA of June 9, we took occasion to clip a paragraph from FREDERICK DOUGLAS' PAPER, in which the idea was conveyed, by the writer, that The Republican Party stood on the Platform of "No more slave States." Knowing that the party never has stood on that Platform, that its leading journals and politicians are frequently repelling the imputation of it as a "Democratic slander"—while at the same time, as we believed, it is somehow managed to catch tens of thousands of abolition and free-soil votes under the delusive impression that the fact is otherwise, we thought it our duty to recapitulate, once more, the historical facts of the case, which we did, at some length, hoping that Frederick Douglas' Paper would see and correct its error.—Having done this, it occurred to us, to add a few lines, dissenting from the 'policy and ethics of co-operating with a party on any standard short of abolition, in the hope of thus 'educating' the people 'to come up higher, as we understood the writer (or then acting Editor) in Frederick Douglas' Paper to recommend.

We are glad to find that, in that valuable journal of June 29, Mr. DOUGLAS disclaims the sentiment we attributed to it, and thinks we were not warranted in giving it such a construction; but he says nothing of the main topic of our article, which was the error of representing the Republican Party as standing on the Platform of "No more slave States."—We cheerfully correct our mistake, and hope to see our valued co-temporary correct its own.

Full justice to Bro. DOUGLAS, however, requires, perhaps, that we should let our readers see precisely what he says of our article, and the extent of his complaint against us. And equal justice to ourselves will then require that we show our readers precisely how we came to mistake our "old associate" and the extent and shape of that mistake.

From Frederick Douglas' Paper, June 29.
JUMPING AT A CONCLUSION.

"Of the policy and the ethics of co-operating with the opponents of correct principles, to-day, as a means of educating them up to a higher standard of human rights, and political morality," to-morrow, we have not time or space to say much at present. Nor does it seem needful. The writer who proposes it in Frederick Douglas' Paper, unless we mistake his identity, has depressed, instead of elevating, or even retaining his own former ethical and political standard, in the very fact of proposing it. The "educating" effects of the policy he commends, is seen in the downward course we have already described."—[Principia.]

The veteran editor of the *Principia* always means to be, and generally is, fair in his representations of the position of those with whom he differs. But in this particular instance, he has formed a hasty judgment on defective premises. If he will read the paragraph which he quotes from our editorial, once more, he will see that it does not advocate the policy of co-operating with the opponents of correct principle in their opposition to such principle, nor have we proposed or commended any such educational process. You are a little too keen on the scent after political heretics, Bro. Goodell, and ought not to strike a blow at an old associate, on any such far-fetched inference. In order to convince you of this, we republish the paragraph from which by some private process of ethical chemistry, you extract the above heavy charges:

"For ourselves, we are sorry that the hosts of freedom could not have been led forth upon a higher platform, and have inscribed upon their banner. 'Death to Slavery,' instead of 'No more Slave States.' But the people will not have it so, and we are compelled to work and wait for a brighter day, when the masses shall be educated up to a higher standard of human rights and political morality."

"Now will Bro. Goodell tell us what more we can do than to 'work' for and 'wait for a brighter day?' Is there any co-operating with 'men opposed to correct principle, involved in that declaration?' No man knows better than the editor of the *Principia*, that it is impossible to rally a political party on his platform—a fact which we deplore in common with him. Is it a crime to state that fact, and to affirm our determination to 'work and wait' until a better day shall be ushered in?"

"We commend every thing good in the Republican party, and condemn freely and independently whatever is worthy of condemnation. What more does Bro. Goodell ask at our hands?"

OUR ANSWER.

Now we will admit, frankly, that the above paragraph from FREDERICK DOUGLAS' paper, quoted by us, if standing by itself, and strictly construed, would hardly warrant the comments we made upon it. But unfortunately, we read it in its connection with other portions of the same article, which we failed to give with it, an omission which we now proceed to supply. Immediately after the above paragraph was the following:

"But, as between the hosts of slavery propagandism, and the Republican party—incomplete as is its platform of principles—our preferences cannot hesitate."

"While we should be glad to co-operate with a party fully committed to the doctrine of 'All rights, to all men,' in the absence of all hope of rearing up the standard of such a party for the coming campaign, we can but desire the success of the Republican candidates."

"It will be a great work accomplished, when this Government is divorced from the active support of the inhuman slave system. To pluck executive patronage out of the hands of the pliant tools of the whip and the chain; to turn the tide of the National Administration against the man-stealers of this country, and in favor of even a partial application of the principles of justice, is a glorious achievement, and we hope for its success."

"To save a prospective empire, yet to be planted in the great West, from the desecrating footprints of inhuman oppression, and open these mountain slopes and river bottoms, to a hardy, industrious, and enlightened population of freemen, who are sure to follow the 'Star of Empire,' toward the Pacific, marching to the inspiring songs of 'Free labor, and free men,' is a consummation devoutly to be wished,—a vision of prospective good, inspiring to the patriot."

Now, in all candor we appeal to Bro. DOUGLAS who "always means to be, and generally is, fair in his representations," &c., &c. Were we greatly to be blamed for understanding the "Editor, whoever he may be, that penned the above" to "advocate the policy of co-operating with the opponents of correct principles, to-day, as a means of educating them up to a higher standard of human rights and political morality, to-morrow?" Was it strange that some Republicans, (by whom our attention was first directed in the article,) understood it, and boasted of it, as favoring co-operation with them? If he "will read the" entire article "once more," ("whoever he may be that penned it,") we think he will admit that it was not, and that the article was incautiously written.

In a party that pledges itself to let slavery alone in the States, that is not pledged to go against the inter-state slave trade, slavery in the Federal District, the admission of new slave States, nor the Fugitive Slave Bill, a party that does not stand unambiguously and steadily, on even the one narrow rickety plank of Federal exclusion of slavery from the Territories—a party that glories, in being distinctively, "the white man's party," and whose chosen leader disclaims the idea of political equality for the negro,—in such a party, THE PRINCIPIA has not yet discovered "the hosts of freedom." If it could do this, it could not, at the same time, stigmatize as "the hosts of slavery propagandism," the party that agrees exactly with it in all the preceding particulars, with the single exception (if it be an exception), of consenting that the Territories may either introduce or exclude slavery, without intervention of Congress. "We would commend everything good in the REPUBLICAN party, and condemn freely and independently, whatever is worthy of condemnation." And we would do the same with the STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS party. And if, balancing the backbone of the latter, (in good or evil,) with the no backbone of the former—the no good professions of the latter, with the disgraced good professions of the former, we should find that—

"Laid in the balance, both appear

Light as a puff of empty air—"

why, then, we would [as we do] say so, and not designate them, severally, as "hosts of freedom," and "hosts of slavery?" "What more does Bro. DOUGLAS ask at our hands?" What less should we ask and expect at his?

As for the "great work of divorcing this Government from the active support of the inhuman slave system," and "turning the tide of the National Administration against the man-stealers of this country," while leaving the infernal Fugitive Slave Bill in full blast, to be enforced, of course, by whoever may chance to be President, "in good faith," so as to avoid "perjury," (as *The Independent*, more frankly than some others, states the process), and also while, by conceding the right of slave property in the slave States,

the duty of putting down Harper's Ferry heroes in "good faith," on pain of "perjury," is likewise of necessity, recognized, as Seward and the Republican magnates, generally, are forward to define their position, we leave it for Frederick Douglass to decipher and to explain to us the meaning, as he best can.

So also, of the rainbow chase, "to save a prospective empire, yet to be planted in the great West, from the desecrating foot-prints of human oppression," while permitting oppression at home. The chase may have been pleasant enough to hopeful juveniles, in the time of it, ere yet the rainbow had been eclipsed by Crittendon-Lecompton votes in Congress, obscured by the ambiguous eighth Resolution at Chicago, and even its past existence, and the chase after it called in question. But, (dropping the figure,) at a time when Republican leaders are trying to ignore the existence of any such platform as "No more slave States," and of a "Free Soil Party" on that platform, at a time when ELI THAYER, and with him, a majority of the Republican Representatives in Congress, are voting, or are dodging the vote, with evident design to favor THAYER's project of a Squatter Sovereignty Act for the Territories—when *The Tribune* and *The Times*, leading journals supporting LINCOLN, are triumphantly pointing to the vote as indicating that Squatter Sovereignty is the *Republican* as well as the Douglas *Democratic* doctrine—at a time when a Republican State Convention, (as in Connecticut, recently), plants itself on Squatter Sovereignty, as the only means of carrying the State election—at such a time, we say, it seems to us, rather late in the day for FREDERICK DOUGLASS' PAPER to be indulging in dreams of excluding slavery from the West, by the action of the Republican Party, and even dreaming that that party is, and ever has been, on the platform of "No more slave States."

We hope our "old associate" will not think that, by these friendly hints, we are "striking a blow," at him. It would not be strange if, after so long a sojourn in Europe, he should need a little posting up, about matters on this side of the water. He has been gone long enough for our politicians to have turned half a dozen somersets, in his absence. Some one, surely, should be indulged in being "keen on the scent after political heresies," now that the manufacture and enginery of them has been reduced to a science, in the hands of professional politicians, to delude the unwary.

DR. CHEEVER'S VISIT TO EUROPE.

DR. CHEEVER is to sail for Europe, this day, June 14, in the steamer *Adriatic*. The best wishes and prayers of the friends of freedom in this country will attend him.—On Sunday Evening he delivered his last sermon to his Church and Congregation; previous to his departure. His text was—"For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty, through God, to the pulling down of strong holds."—The carnal weapons disclaimed by the apostle, the preacher understood to include the carnal policy so much in use at the present day. And slavery was emphatically the strong hold of Satan in this country.

In DR. CHEEVER, the British public will find an American abolitionist, and Minister of the Gospel, of the genuine stamp—not one of the counterfeit description, by whom they have so often been imposed upon. In the statements he may make concerning the affairs of his church, the position of the prominent churches in this city, and of this country, in general, they may place the most unwavering confidence. They may accredit him as an American abolitionist whose theological orthodoxy is unimpeached, and whose evangelical piety and corresponding example have never been questioned. Whatever aid they may find it in their hearts, and within their ability to extend to him and to the "Church of the Puritans," they may regard as contributed, not to him, and to that particular Church alone, not to the interests of pure religion, christian freedom, and a free pulpit in this city and vicinity alone, but, instrumentally; through them, and under the divine blessing, to the purification of the American churches, the independence of the American ministry, the free utterance of Bible truth, in its fullness, against the sin of slaveholding, and thus, for the wielding of "the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God," for the liberation of the enslaved. Under the providence of God, Dr. Cheever and his church, at a most interesting crisis, have been enabled to place themselves in the gap, and the turning point of the controversy, for aught we can tell,

may be suspended upon the question, *Shall they be sustained?* In none of our great central cities, by any prominent church, or by any equally prominent preacher, has such a standard in America, been raised, as by the "Church of the Puritans" and its pastor. In no other way, we are persuaded, could the funds, more or less, that may be necessary to sustain them, be more judiciously applied, by British Christians for the benefit of the American slave. We say this, deliberately, spontaneously, and unsolicited, after having watched the cause, and after having, according to our best ability, labored in it, for thirty years, and having no personal connexion with, nor pecuniary interest in, the Church of the Puritans.

For the Principia.

NOMINATING CONVENTION.

There will be a Convention of Radical Abolitionists held at Syracuse, N. Y. on the 3d. Wednesday of August, being the 15th day thereof, at 10 o'clock, A. M., to nominate candidates for President and Vice President of the United States; also to nominate candidates for Governor and Lieutenant Governor of this State.

The men and women of this, and other States, who occupy radical positions in Anti-slavery and Temperance, are earnestly invited to attend and take part in this convention.

W. W. CHAPMAN, }
J. C. HARRINGTON, } Central
OTIS SIMMONS. } Committee.

MINETTO, N. Y. July 5th 1860.

News of the Day.

Of general news, properly so called, the papers have been remarkably bare, for the week past. Our large City Dailies have been much occupied with political items of the different parties, of little interest, and on the whole, balancing the one against the other, affording no reliable data for estimating the future. We give a few later items from Sicily. But the two articles of most interest, we think, are those from Syria, in the East, the field of Christian Missions, in which Christians, Druses and Mohammedans, are in a state of civil war with each other, and our own Western Wisconsin, where, under a Republican State Administration, the spirit and even the forms of free institutions and "State Sovereignty," seem in process of being surrendered to the centralized Slave Power.

HON. OWEN LOVEJOY has been re-nominated for Congress. The popularity of Lovejoy and Giddings, by the bye, furnish another illustration of the general fact that the strongest utterances against slavery, find the heartiest responses from the people. A pity that the Republican leaders could not see this; and shape their measures accordingly. If their party fails, it will be through their timidity. If it succeeds, and should it ever accomplish any thing, it will be in spite of it.

DOUGLAS AND BRECKINRIDGE.—The N. Y. Herald publishes a list of "all the Democratic papers that have declared their preferences either for Douglas or Breckenridge, so far as have come under" the Herald's "observation." The "Recapitulation" gives the following result.

	Breckinridge.	Douglas.
North.....	31	141
South.....	145	21
Total.....	176	162

This looks as though the Northern wing of the Democracy would generally support Douglas, and the Southern support Breckenridge, another specimen of "sectionalism," we suppose the conservatists will call it.

SENATOR SUMNER'S Speech at Cooper Institute on Wednesday evening, drew a crowded audience. It was an appeal in behalf of the Republican party, and a strong denunciation of slavery in the slave States, with which the Republican party is pledged not to interfere.

FIRE.—West Washington Market was partly destroyed by fire, on Wednesday night, with a great quantity of vegetables and provisions. Loss estimated at \$40,000.

THADDEUS HYATT and other speakers, addressed a meeting, celebrating the 4th of July at North Elba, at the grave of John Brown.

IS WISCONSIN A SOVEREIGN STATE?

The world is likely to get ample evidence that a people who cannot demand a National Abolition of Slavery for fear of infringing the "State Rights" of slaveholders to enslave their fellow citizens, will not have the manhood to maintain their own "State Rights," to protect freedom. The dread of "consolidation," for freedom begets "consolidation" for despotism. Read and see.

From The Wisconsin Free Democrat:

Letter of Mr. Booth—Despotism over the Soul.

Tot he Editors of the Free Democrat:

I learn that it is reported, that it is my own fault that I am now in prison, and that I could be released, at any time, for the asking; and that there are not wanting Republicans who say, that if I am not willing to ask for pardon, I ought not to be released. Let me state the matter fairly.

The Supreme Court of this State has decided that the Act under which I was convicted was unconstitutional, was no law—not voidable, but void—and discharged me from the sentence of the U. S. District Court. By this decision, it pledged the power, authority and sovereignty of the State for the protection of my liberty against any attempted enforcement of the original sentence. That decision of our Supreme Court stands unreversed as the law of this State, for it refused obedience to the mandate of the U. S. Supreme Court, requiring it to reverse its decision, and denied its appellate jurisdiction.

The State, then, by its highest tribunal, has declared me innocent, and fully entitled to its protection from arrest and imprisonment. Its Executive, Gov. Randall, in his Annual Message, referring approvingly to the decision of the Supreme Court, declared it to be the law of Wisconsin, and voluntarily pledged all the power of the State to see it enforced.

I have, then, the judicial decree, and the Executive pledge—the word and oath of the State—guaranteeing my liberty. I have also the declaration of every Republican paper in the State, at the time of my discharge, and the resolutions of more than a hundred public meetings, in favor of the decision of the Supreme Court, and of sustaining me in the position I had taken.

I have also the Legislative action of the State in my favor, declaring slave judgments void, and punishing, with fine and imprisonment, all who re-commit and re-imprison for the same cause, one who has been discharged on a writ of Habeas Corpus. I have, then, the Judicial, the Executive, and the Legislative authority of the State for saying that I am now illegally imprisoned, that I was kidnapped, and those who now hold me a prisoner have no more right to hold me thus, than they have to imprison Judge Cole or Gov. Randall, without the pretense of authority of law.

Now, what am I asked to do, to entitle me to a release?

1. To deny the faith of Wisconsin, by acknowledging that the writ of Habeas Corpus and the Right of Trial by Jury may be constitutionally abolished, and that an unconstitutional Act—a nullity—may be a valid law, strong enough to override the rights and sovereignty of the State, its Courts, its Executive, its Legislature, and the liberties of the people.

2. To become a hypocrite. For every one knows that if I should ask pardon for violating the Fugitive Act, and promise to obey it hereafter, I would be lying.

FOR I DO NOT RECOGNIZE IT AS A LAW. It is a bold usurpation, striking directly at the liberties of the people, and the authority of Jehovah.—What God commands, it forbids! What He forbids, it commands! It is cruel, bloody, wicked, despotic, damnable! Those who uphold it, if they profess Republicanism, deserve the scorn of despots; if they profess christianity, deserve the scorn of infidels and atheists, and richly merit the damnation they assign to unbelievers. And I am asked to swear fealty to such a law, before I can be released—before the question of my release can even be considered. The petitions of leading Democrats in this city, asking for my release, could not even be considered, till I asked for pardon, under oath, wrote Attorney General Black in answer to the prayer of these petitioners.

A. F. Pratt, on his way to the Charleston Convention, called on the President as did other delegates who felt a deep interest in my case, and after his interview with that "old public functionary," wrote back to the *News*, speaking by authority, with great apparent satisfaction:

"You may say to Mr. Booth that the President will remit his fine when he will own up, that he did wrong in breaking the laws, and promise to do better hereafter, and not till then."

And the *News*, immediately after its editor's return from Washington, declared;—"S. M. Booth will continue to suffer the penalties of violated laws unless he GETS DOWN ON HIS KNEES AND BEGS FOR MERCY. Let him do this, and we doubt not his prison bars would open."

This is the debasement required of me, as the condition precedent of my release! Nor is there any certainty of my release, should I thus humiliate myself. Does any honorable man—any Republican—say I ought to comply with such a requisition? If so, I would like to know his name.

This whole proceeding shows, in a striking light, the despotic character of slavery, and of our Federal Government under its present administration. Here is a statute at which

the moral sense of the people of the Free States regard as a usurpation in violation of the Constitution, and dangerous to liberty. And of those who hold it to be constitutional, most of them regard it as inhuman and oppressive, and when put to the practical test, would themselves disregard it by giving aid and comfort to the fugitive. This statute, so offensive to the moral sense, and so opposed to the sober judgment of the people, is attempted to be enforced, in my case, with a pertinacity, a rigor, and a vindictiveness characteristic only of the despotism of slavery.

For the sentence of Judge Miller, against me, can only be fulfilled by perpetual imprisonment, or be remitted by my acknowledging the justice of the Fugitive Act, and "getting down on my knees" before the President, and "begging for mercy."

I have now been four months in prison. My business has been interrupted and broken up, my plans all frustrated, my pecuniary interests injured, and how much damage this imprisonment has been and is likely to be to me, any business man would readily perceive, if he had been suddenly arrested and confined as I have been. I have a family needing my care and efforts to provide for them. There is every inducement to lead me to wish to be at liberty, and it is no light sacrifice I am compelled to make, in remaining here. But I have no other alternative. I cannot do what is required for my release, without dishonor, without sacrificing the most cherished conviction of my life, and without a complete surrender, on my part, of the glorious position in behalf of Freedom assumed and maintained for five years by the State of Wisconsin. I hold her honor now in my keeping, and if her courts and authorities and people all deny the faith they have professed, and succumb, like trembling slaves, to the one-man power, and permit Judge Miller to ride rough shod over the constitution and laws, over the sovereignty and rights and liberties of the people of Wisconsin, and set a defiance and treat with contempt her courts, that he may imprison her citizens and work his despotic will for the establishment of slavery on our soil, and play the part of blood-hound for the slave catchers of the South, I trust that while life and reason remain to me, I shall not be found among the recreants to liberty and that I shall be able to oppose to the despotism of the slave power that now holds me, a will as strong, a patience as enduring, a faith as firm, a courage as unflinching, and a hope as cheerful in the service of Freedom, as my kidnappers and jailers show in the service of Slavery.

If liberty is a crime, and the love of it a felony, then am I justly imprisoned. But if it be the foundation and corner stone of our Republican edifice, and the permeating spirit of all our Republican institutions, then is my continued imprisonment a monstrous anomaly and wrong, and a disgrace to the State of Wisconsin, which should redden with the blush of shame, the cheeks of every honest, liberty-loving citizen.

In a postscript to a business letter, written me not long ago, Senator Durkee says: "How strange it is, that you have to lie in jail, contrary to the law of our State! Is there not virtue enough in the people to maintain their own honor and vindicate the decision of their own Courts?"

I leave this question for the people to answer.

S. M. BOOTH.

U. S. CUSTOM HOUSE, June 28, 1860.

The following is an Editorial of the Wisconsin Free Democrat, a Republican paper, in relation to the preceeding. We earnestly commend it to the attention of our readers.

THE CASE OF S. M. BOOTH.

We yesterday published a communication from Mr. Booth, on which we had not the time to comment, stating the conditions on which he is held as a prisoner in the U. S. Custom House, the rejection of the position of leading Democrats in his behalf, the reasons why he cannot comply with the requirements demanded of him by the powers at Washington, as a pre-requisite to his release, and the position the State sustains to him, in this case, by virtue of the official acts of its Judiciary, Executive and Legislature, and the declarations and pledges of the press and people of Wisconsin. His statement his clear, truthful, explicit, and is a full vindication of the course he has pursued since his imprisonment, and must meet the hearty approval of all who have a spark of manhood remaining in their souls. The diabolical Fugitive Slave Act he refuses to recognise as a law, and he declines to ask pardon for an act which his conscience approves, and which the good and liberty-loving of all countries must honor. And he is right.

But no outsider, who has done nothing to relieve him, could blame him had he yielded the point in controversy, and acknowledged the righteousness of the Fugitive Act, and the justice of his imprisonment, by asking the President to pardon him. True, the Slave Power would have triumphed, in such a case, not only over him but over the State of Wisconsin, and no thanks are due to the Republican party of this State that it has not done so. For, with

the exception of the abortive efforts to procure a writ of Habeas Corpus during the first weeks of his imprisonment, so far as any aid and comfort has been given him, or efforts made for his release, he might as well have been imprisoned in South Carolina as in Wisconsin. And notwithstanding we have a Republican ascendancy in all branches of the government, he has received no protection from the State Government whatever, which had been so freely pledged to him.

Look at it. Here is a man kidnapped and held in prison, in the midst of three-fourths of a million of free people, in defiance of their laws, the decisions of their highest Court and their own resolutions, pledges and declarations a hundred times repeated. They have declared, over and over again, that, for the praiseworthy act for which he is now imprisoned, he should not suffer either in his person or in his purse; that he should be protected from injury either to his liberty or property; and yet he has been allowed to lie four months—one-third of a year—in prison, his business neglected, his pecuniary interests sacrificed, not permitted the liberty of a chattel on a southern plantation, but shut up like a refractory slave, and no earnest efforts have been made for his release!

When the Supreme Court adjourned, it was understood that an application would be made to Judge Cole for a writ of habeas corpus; but as legal proceedings cost money, and, as none was raised for that purpose, nothing was done, and all hope and expectation failed in that quarter. Then it was Mr. Booth's plan to prosecute the U. S. officers, by whom he is now held, for false imprisonment, and repeat the suit once a week, as long as his imprisonment continued. And in the present constitution of the Courts of the State, there is no doubt he would recover heavy damages. But clerks and sheriffs, and traveling expenses and lawyers, must be paid, and without money nothing could be done, and Mr. Booth's application to lawyers, to conduct civil suits against those who hold him in illegal confinement, was as useless as the application for a writ of habeas corpus.

Now, it is perfectly idle for Republicans to find fault with the U. S. officers, or with the Federal Government, for keeping Mr. Booth in prison, as long as they do nothing for his release, themselves. The present administration will say, that by imprisoning Mr. Booth they but execute a law they found on the statute book, when they took the reins of government. The Marshal will say, that he is but an Executive officer, and is only carrying out the orders of his superiors, and that he does not wish to hold him in prison a single day. The District Attorney will say, that in moving the Court to re-imprison Mr. Booth, he has but obeyed orders from Washington, and that he had to do it or resign. Judge Miller—well, if he told the truth, he would say that he was so eager to convict Mr. Booth, that he trampled on law and justice to accomplish it, and that he considers it his duty to follow the teachings of the Dred Scott Judiciary. All these officials understand that Slavery is the vital and controlling element of the national government, and that the behests of the Slave Power must be obeyed, or their places will be filled by more subservient men.

But Republicans have no such excuse. Mr. Booth is imprisoned in violation of the laws, judicial decrees, executive declarations, authority, rights and sovereignty of the State.

He is kept in prison now, solely because the State has failed to vindicate its authority and honor, and redeem the pledges it has made to protect his liberty. That he is held in prison now, is as much the fault of the Republican party, as it was the fault of the slaveholding government in committing him to prison. And it is as justly blameable in doing nothing for his release, as the U. S. government is in not opening his prison doors. And in one respect far more so. For the U. S. government is acting up to its professions, while Republicans are believing theirs. And every hour that he remains in prison, while no steps are taken for his release, is a reproach to the Republican party of Wisconsin.

Mr. Booth, we understand, has given up all expectation of relief, till the inauguration of a new President. Four months, imprisonment may well have taught him, not to put trust in the Republican party of this State, for help. Wisconsin, the first State in the Union to reject the Fugitive Slave Act, and pledge her authority and sovereignty to

protect her citizens against the invasion of slave catchers and kidnappers; hailed by the liberty-loving in her sister States as the first born of Freedom, as the only practically free State, as the pioneer in a legal vindication of the Constitution from slave-holding perversions and interpretations, which made the Declaration of Independence a reality, and gave assurance that liberty dwelt in the organic law and inspired her judges to do justice—Wisconsin, brave and honored and glorious for her fealty to Freedom, up to the first day of March, 1860, where stands she now? Judge Miller drew his pen across the judgment of her Supreme Court, and it is annulled. He orders a citizen imprisoned whom the State has released, the State yields and acknowledges his dictatorship. No serf ever obeyed his master, no slave ever submitted to his owner, with more quietness, docility and readiness, than the great State of Wisconsin has submitted to the autocracy of Judge Miller. Its courts, its authority, its sovereignty, its liberties have all been "whistled down the wind," as the playthings of a despot, and if this usurpation is permitted to stand, the Slave Power is henceforth the supreme authority, and the will of Judge Miller the supreme law in Wisconsin. Well may Senator Durkee ask, in surprise, "Is there not virtue enough in the people to maintain their own honor, and vindicate the decisions of their own Courts?" We believe there is, and that all the people need is to have the way pointed out to them in which they can act. We shall have something further to suggest hereafter.

BURGLARIES.—An unusual number of daring burglaries have lately taken place in New York, Brooklyn, Williamsburgh, and vicinity. The following are specimens.

On Saturday afternoon, a house situated on Graham Avenue, between Richardson and Meeker avenues, Brooklyn, L. I., was entered by means of a latch key, and robbed of money and jewelry, to the value of \$500. The house was occupied by two families, John C. Zinger, and Christian Frank. From Zinger's apartments \$200 in money, a gold watch, and some other articles were taken. Mr. Frank lost \$150 and two silver watches. Several persons were in the yard of the house at the time the robbery was committed, and shortly before its discovery, Mrs. Frank saw two young men leave the premises, who were undoubtedly the thieves. On Saturday evening, officer Johnson, of the Fifth precinct, police, arrested two young men on suspicion of committing the robbery. They were first identified by Mrs. Frank, as the men she saw leaving the house, but were subsequently honorably discharged.—Herald.

The residents at Washington Heights, have been thrown into some alarm for a week past, by the appearance in their neighborhood, of several suspicious looking stragglers, who have been seen prowling around their grounds and out-houses. On Friday night, one of these characters made an attempt to rob the mansion of ex-Sheriff Willet, which is located near the Tubby Hook railroad station, on the North river. The burglar made his way by means of a ladder, through an upper window in a rear building, and although early in the evening, he would have succeeded in carrying off somewhat of a bundle of plunder, but that he was accidentally discovered by the coachman, when jumping from the window. He made for the adjoining woods, when the alarm was given, and he was taken, after a protracted pursuit, in which a general posse of the neighbors turned out with their lamps and lanterns, and scoured the woods. Ex-Sheriff Willet, after the capture, carried his prisoner in a wagon, down to one of Captain Porter's sub-stations, at Manhattanville, where he was committed. He gave his name as Dick Smith, and acknowledged that he had been in Mr. Willet's hands before, when he was conveyed to the penitentiary for a like offence.

Mr. Willet's house has been robbed three times previous to this, when the burglars were more lucky. It seems that few, except those who keep private watchmen, escape from similar visitations, and the region of Washington Heights, is likely to become a refuge for the burglars which the police drive out of the lower end of the island. This is owing to the inadequate police force detailed there. Private watchmen, and iron safes have grown to be indispensable household arrangements in the twelfth ward, and will continue so, until something is done for its more effectual patrol, and a sub-station located on the Kingsbridge road. Neither during the protracted chase for the burglar in the present case, when all the neighborhood was roused, nor anywhere short of the sub-station at Manhattanville, did a policeman appear; horse or foot. There should be twenty-five, instead of the present eight patrolmen, and a supply of boats on both rivers at the upper end of the island.—Ib.

MURDER.—Another most horrible double murder was perpetrated in this city yesterday morning, at the corner of Eleventh avenue and Seventy-first street. The murderers stole into the house of John Schumaker, a market-gardener, and with a hammer beat in the heads of Mrs. Schumaker and her infant boy, while they were asleep. The murderers then ransacked the house, and escaped with about \$200 in money and various small articles of little value. Francis

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A fierce civil children

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Hoffman, a German, who was recently discharged from the employ of Mr. Schumaker, was suspected, and at about 11 o'clock was taken into custody. A portion of the money, a silver watch, a breast-pin, and some of the clothing which had been stolen, were found in his possession. He was locked up by Coroner O'Keefe for trial.—*Tribune.*

THRILLING NEWS FROM SYRIA.

A fierce civil war raging—Villages burned, and women and children butchered—safety of the American missionaries.

The Beirut, Syria, correspondent of the Boston *Traveller* writing on the 6th ult., says;

Druses and Christians, numbering hundreds of thousands, are now engaged in wholesale murder, arson and pillage, in which fiendish work they are aided by Turks, Moslem Arabs, and the people known as Metawalies. From my window, last week, I counted from twenty to thirty burning villages upon the mountain a few miles from Beirut, from whence the flash of musketry may easily be seen, and the volleys heard, one after another, in rapid succession, as they echo through the valleys: The dying and the dead are brought daily into the town in large numbers, and the widows and the orphans may be seen in great crowds, weeping and wailing about the streets.

The barbarity of this war is truly shocking. Men, women and children are overtaken while fleeing for refuge, and without arms, and ruthlessly slaughtered while praying for quarter. The Christians have thus far suffered most terribly. Their villages have been burned, their crops destroyed, and great numbers have been brutally murdered, while the Druses, who are better warriors, and far more courageous, are assisted by the Turks, Moslems, and Metawalies, and up to this time have proved successful.

The writer traces the origin of these troubles to the bitter feuds between the Druses and Christians. Last Summer, at Bait Marri, a quarrel arose, which threatened to precipitate a war, in which the Maronite Christians were victorious, having repulsed the Druses, killing forty or more, while their own loss, was less than one-third that number. Although peace was then declared, the Druses have since assassinated every Christian who came in their way, with an evident determination to make the number of the Maronite loss equal to that of the Druses. This aroused the Christians, and so exasperated them, that they made an attack upon several Druse villages. At first, they were successful, but relying upon their numbers, they neglected to appoint leaders, or to form any plan for the campaign: consequently, the Druses rallied under their warrior chiefs, and burned every Maronite and Greek Christian village within their reach. The provincial authorities pronounced the invading party, the Christians—to be rebels, and the Governor General proceeded with all his available force to the mountains, and brought his cannon to bear upon the Christians, checking them at every turn, while the Druses, aided by the soldiery, carried on their work of pillage and murder, in a manner shameful even to a North American Indian. Denounced as traitors and rebels, their homes having been burned, their crops destroyed, and, in some cases, their families butchered, the Christians are rallying for the forlorn hope, for they feel that the Druses, thus aided, will endeavor to exterminate them. This, however, will not be an easy matter, as the Maronite Greeks, and Greek Catholics, number about two hundred and fifty thousand, and if, as they hope and daily expect, the European Powers will come to their aid, they may not only be saved but greatly improve their condition, by being placed under the rule of a European Prince, who may be placed over the Government of Syria.

The American missionaries in Mount Lebanon have been greatly exposed, but as yet have suffered only for the want of provisions. Upon the breaking out of the war, Mr. Consul Johnson sent guards for their protection, and in some cases provisions. Some of the families of the Mission have come down to Beirut, under an escort furnished by the Consul, and others are daily expected. No personal danger to the Americans in Mount Lebanon is to be apprehended, as they are well known and well protected, but their work is stopped by the war, their houses become asylums for the wounded and the fearful: in fact, they are crowded out by the people who seek their protection: for, wherever the American flag is seen waving on the housetop, the people flock in great numbers for admission. The American Mission premises, are crowded day and night by women and children crying for bread, which they receive with comfort and consolation, from the American missionaries.

News has been received that Dieril Kenir, a Turkish town, and garrisoned by Turkish troops—unlike the other Christian towns, which are governed either by Christians, or Druse feudal chiefs,—is in a state of siege. This indicates that the Turks are determined to crush the Christian power in Mount Lebanon. In thus attacking a Turkish town, the Druses become rebels, but the Governor-General forgets his assumed consistency, and allowed the Druses to burn a large portion of the place, before he interfered.

Information has also been received this evening, that the Christians in the North of Lebanon are rallying, and have repulsed the Druses with great slaughter. This yet requires confirmation, as it is generally believed that the Chris-

tians are disheartened by the union of the Turks with the Druses, and are giving up their arms.

It has been estimated at the British Consulate that about sixty villages have been burned. It is believed that the European Powers will now interfere in behalf of the Christians of Syria, and relieve them from the Turkish yoke.

The same correspondent, writing on the 7th says:

Great apprehension has been entertained by the Christian population of Beirut, and all other Syrian cities, of a general Moslem Insurrection, and all are now wearied with constant watching—every European and native Christian having slept upon his arms for nearly two weeks. While in this state of mind, you may imagine the effect produced upon the public mind by the announcement a few days ago that the Moslems of Sidon had risen and were killing the Christians. The utmost excitement prevailed for a time, and every eye was cast seaward, with the hope that vessel might arrive for the protection of the town. One small British surveying steamer, carrying two cannon, was lying in the harbor, and the stars and stripes were floating from the American bark *Speedwell*. This gave us some comfort. Upon receiving this startling news from the American residents and the American Vice-Consul in Sidon, the United States Consul, Mr. Johnson, hastened to lay the matter before his colleagues, and requested a general remonstrance upon the part of the Consular corps. This was immediately done, and orders were sent off the same day, from Beirut, holding the Governor and the military commander of Sidon responsible for further outrages.

A Russian frigate arriving very opportunely the next morning, the British Consul was induced to send H. B. M. steamer *Firefly* to Sidon, for the protection of the Christian population. The arrival of this vessel produced a temporary effect of stilling the tumult. Several hundred Christians had been killed outside the walls of the town, in the orange-gardens and the cemetery. Inside the town proper, the number was much smaller, and the Turkish soldiery were seen to join in the massacre, bayoneting the Christians wherever they could be found unprotected. The Franks had not been molested, but were greatly alarmed and exposed to every conceivable danger; and their joy was great when they saw the British vessel steaming into the port. The outcry of the Moslems ceases, every Moslem woman disappeared from the terraces, and quiet was restored.

The commander soon called for an interview with the authorities, and after threatening them with the vengeance of the British Lion if these atrocities did not immediately cease, drew up a contract making the Governor, the Military Chief and the Druse Sheikh personally responsible to Great Britain for further outrages. This done, and after supplying the starving people with provisions brought from Beirut, the *Firefly* returned to Beirut, bringing as a passenger, Mrs. Eddy, the wife of an American missionary stationed there, whose delicate state of health rendered her removal to Beirut desirable.

The Americans of Sidon experienced the greatest kindness from the British Captain, and requested their Consul to address him a letter of thanks.

The immediate cause of this Moslem irruption may be found in the war raging around that place, between the Druses and Christians. Wherever the Druses were successful in the mountains back of Sidon, the Christian villagers would hastily gather their women and children and flee to the sea-coast for safety, leaving their homes to be burned and robbed by the enemy. On the 1st of June, it appears that several hundred Christians, with their families and cattle, fled to Sidon for refuge, whither they were pursued by the Druses. Their approach to the city caused the Moslems to raise the cry: "The Christian dogs are coming to attack us! To arms! to arms! Moslems defend your homes!" This cry, raised by a few designing ones, caused the Moslems to gather and close the gates of the town. Seeing this, the Christians threw down their arms near the city, and surrendered to the Druses, who commenced the work of butchery. Some of the Christians had gained admission, and upon making this discovery the Moslem women raised the alarm, and the poor unfortunates were soon slaughtered. The Moslems then went out and joined with the Druses in killing these defenceless people, among whom were many women and children. About twenty priests and several nuns were counted among the slain, and from that time all Christian fugitives flying to Sidon for safety were not only shut out from the town, but ruthlessly killed by the Moslems from within. The Christians now hide in the caves and among the tombs, but they are soon found and slain.

The Consuls-General of Beirut protested against the shutting out of these fugitives, and orders were sent at once to Sidon, providing for the admission of all refugees who should desire to enter the city unarmed. Information is daily received, however, of fresh cases of the most horrible butchery of Native Christians, and it would seem as if the Druses and Moslems were leagued to exterminate them, root and branch. This morning we learn of a large number of peasantry having been induced to return to their villages, where they were all killed in cold blood—and of the murder of five Ecclesiastics of the Latin Church, who were shot down near the walls of Sidon.

The success of the Druses had undoubtedly stirred up all the Moslem hostility to Christians, and a general insurrection seems to be trembling in the balance. The presence of a Russian frigate of thirty guns gives a feeling of security

to the Frank population of Beirut, and the expected arrival of a French fleet in generally hailed with delight.

The Consuls General have been holding daily consultations to devise ways and means for the protection of the Christians, and each one has written to his national fleet for vessels of war, as the only means of restraining the Moslems, in their present excited state.

It is believed that this state of things will hasten the end of the "sick man;"—indeed the French Consul-General declares that this is the end of the Ottoman Empire! If this be so, the Moslems will undoubtedly try to die "game," and the Christian population is beginning to quake with fear, as the time approaches, dreading a general insurrection.

The absence of an American vessel of war is deeply regretted at this time. The United States steamer *Iroquois* is somewhere in the Mediterranean sea, but it is supposed she is detained at Sicily.

Family Miscellany.

OUR GEM.

BY MAUD MALDEN.

We had in a beautiful casket
A jewel very fair,
And we had loved and guarded it
With very jealous care.

But the angels, with silent footsteps
Stole into our house one day,
And took from the beautiful casket,
Our gem, and bore it away.

We wept o'er our beautiful casket,
Deprived of its only gem;
But our sorrows and tears availed not,
To find our lost treasure again.

It was all that we had, and our sorrow—
Could scarcely bear the light—
So we wrapped it carefully, up one day
And hid it out of sight.

But one night while we were sleeping
An angel whispered low;
"Weep not, the gem you covet is in keeping,
And where, you soon shall know."

One sent us who has many jewels,
Gathered from every clime;
He saw how rich the gem within your casket
And so he gathered thine.

Among the fairest in that princely mansion
It shines upon his breast—
Since then we've never wept or mourned,
But calmly, sweetly rest.

Chicago, Jan., 1860. *Prairie Home.*

For the Principia.

THE AMERICAN BASTILE, AT THE CAPITOL.

"UNDER THE EXCLUSIVE LEGISLATION OF CONGRESS."*

Letter from THADDEUS HYATT to Rev. HENRY T. CHEEVER.

(Continued.)

One evening, about 10 o'clock, I heard singing. Opening my door, I found that it proceeded from some part of the building, hastily slipped on a coat and cap, and stole softly through the darkness, along the vaulted passage, until I came to the iron grating door, at the stair way, where, as I listened, the following stanzas fell on my ear.

"I dream of my home, happy home of my childhood,
Whose life's sunny morning passed sweetly away,
I dream of the cot, nestling close by the wild-wood,
Around which the young birds sang sweet, all the day,
Father! of you, Mother! of you,
Sisters, brothers, all, I dream of you."

"Oh, sad was the hour when, my dear home forsaking,
I wander'd with strangers, cold, heartless, and vain,
But now I am weary, my poor heart is breaking,
Then take me, O take me to my dear home again,
Father! of you, Mother! of you,
Sisters, brothers, all, I dream of you."

The voice was a sweet soprano, soft, rich, and mellow, and the air melancholy, as the sigh of a lost soul. At that hour, in that darkness, in this place, to listen to such sweet sad words, warbled by a penitent voice, so plaintive, so touching, so tender, who could do otherwise than weep? Like a spirit the voice seemed to float through archway and corridor, now rising and now falling in bewitching cadences, and filling all the gloom with the aroma of a sweet forgiving presence. I listened till the last note melted into silence, and then returned to my room filled with sad thoughts, and lay down to sadder dreams.

In the morning I made diligent inquiry after the owner of that sad wailing voice. I found it was Magdalena. Poor Magdalena. I went down to her; spoke kind words to her, inquired into her history and took immediate measures to insure her a fair hearing and a fair trial by employing counsel to attend to her case; I ought to have mentioned that

*Federal Constitution.

before seeing her I sent to her for a copy of the song; on getting which I returned the following.

"Sweet singing Magdalena. I have received your beautiful verses. I think them very sad and very touching; I never heard anything sung so sweetly. So charming a voice as your's, my child, ought not to "waste its sweetness on the desert air." Heaven is not closed, my poor singing bird, turn to "Our Father!" He is always merciful, because always just.

Farewell. If I can befriend you, command me.

I am always The friend of the unfortunate and the distressed. THADDEUS HYATT.

WASH. JAIL, May 9, 1860.

My lawyer has seen her, heard her story, and is attending to her case. This evening one of the prisoners handed me the following note.

Washington, 22d May.

DEAR SIR:—If I have not acknowledged, before this, the kindness of which I have been the object on your part, you must attribute it to anything, but a want of feeling of deep gratitude. You are, undoubtedly, aware that the men, like you, with whom women of my class come in contact, are "like angels visits few and far between." Yes Sir, I am "a fallen one," one upon whom the happy and rich among my sex frown, instead of reaching to us the helping hand of christian charity. But God be blessed! we are not all lost to a sense of what is right or wrong. If I had space enough, I should perhaps make your generous heart ache, in describing the agonies and struggles of many a one who, like me, is sighing for a better and happier life. Once, I had, too, a happy home. I was surrounded by all the comforts of life; living in a circle of respectable friends; and esteemed by all who knew me. But a series of unfortunate circumstances occurred, which broke the course of my joys. The tempter came; and unprepared, or unqualified to face and fight against the blows of adversity, I forgot the pious lessons of my kind parents, and went over to Satan. You know the rest. How then, could I be ungrateful to you for what you have done for me, when you befriended me and assisted me with so much disinterestedness, in my miserable situation; but I hope kind Sir, your favors will not prove to have been lavished upon an unworthy woman, nor in vain to effect my release. In such expectations, do I try to bear with fortitude the sorrows and cares my prosecutors cause me. For no words could adequately convey to you the extent of my sufferings in a mental, moral, and physical point of view. As I do not wish to annoy you with a recital of woes you may know and imagine, I will pass on, and wind up this already long letter, by declaring that whatever may be the decision of my earthly judges, convicted or not, I will throw myself, like the woman of Nain, at the feet of my Savior, with a strong faith, through him in the Divine Mercy, and will take Hope from the words He spoke to the repentant sinner "woman, thy Faith hath saved thee, Go in peace," and my "sins which are many, may be forgiven." Thus much, dear Sir, for the confession of a repentant sinner, on whom you have taken pity, and who will blend your name in her prayers to Heaven, and cherish the remembrance of your generous heart, to the end of her life. I remain, Very respectfully, Your obliged,

MAGDALENA.

I have written you, my friend Cheever, a very long letter, and not told all, yet. I see here, as I could not elsewhere see how beastly a thing slavery is, I am getting an *inside* view of the system. The records of this one jail are enough to arouse to indignation the christian sentiment of the entire North. I look down upon this seat of central power, fast becoming a centralized despotism, and I see an infernal web, a web spun by the hideous spiders of the pit. This web spreads ten miles square, under national auspices, and the watchful, artful, lying-in-wait brood of blood-sucking spiders that hunt for reward when they rush upon their prey, I see darting about over this web continually, and in all directions, their wretched victims, timid and helpless, fall daily into their toils, and these dungeon walls are saturated with the groans of the wronged, and with the unavailing tears of those who have hopelessly perished and disappeared.

Let the author of "the Marble Faun," come down and live with me, in this Government Establishment, awhile! he will find different "customs" from those he is familiar with, and I promise him materials for romance where there is "shadow" enough to turn Egyptian darkness into day;

"mystery" and "gloomy wrong" enough for the most ghostly dreamer, and everything but "commonplace prosperity."

Here is the vaulted passage of "sighs!" Not one poor despairing wretch only, but scores beneath these arched ways, unpitied and unheard, have drawn their deep and woe-begotten sighs from crushed and mangled hearts, weary, sighing in darkness, and in loneliness and sorrow, with no heavenly pitying to soothe, no words of gentle human cheer to make the bitter burden less, or point the dull despairing eye to Faith and Hope and Heaven!

"Oh! My! My! My!"

I shall never cease to hear these sounds. The poor slave's ejaculation! He had often uttered them, heaved them, thought them, wept them, in the still darkness many a time before. And now GOD HEARD HIM, at the last! Then why oh! my brother should I not stay here?

Was the poor old unsophisticated black, after all, far from correct, in saying

"Pears to me, Master Hyatt, dat de Lord has somehow specially put you in dis jail!"

It is now after midnight, my brother, and tired nature warns me to repose.

Farewell, God grant I may continue to live "Not for myself." Ever thine, THADDEUS HYATT.

A WESTERN ART-CRITICISM.

A correspondent of the Buffalo Courier narates the following shrewd criticism passed by a rough Western man, on the Prairie Picture, by Beard, the well-known artist of that city.

A few mornings ago, as I was standing admiring—as I confess myself quite fond of doing—that beautiful deer group, a tall unmistakably Western man came up behind me, and looked over my shoulder. I noticed, at once, the quick stoppage of the breathing, which always follows admiration; but to my surprise, the stop was short, and something like a laugh quickly succeeded. Looking up, I saw a yellow face overspreading with a smile, and there was a decided twinkle in the eye.

"Pshaw!" said he, "that's no pictur, after all. That ain't no fair representation."

"Why," said I, "that struck me as being a pretty good painting."

"Maybe it's good enough for a painting," said the Western man, "I don't say anything agin that; but there never was no scene enacted like it. Jest look at that tall rice grass up there, and then the fern weeds below—who ever saw them grow together? Why, the one grows on wet and the other on dry land. But that's pretty wet land," he continued, "and jest see them deer's feet, how clean they be. They ought to be mud up to their knees; and at the gait they're going at, they'd be spotted with mud all over. I tell ye, when I went to that country first, the men skeered me sometimes, driving their wagons on to a wet prairie, but they'd tell me it was all right; and sure enough, I would find a good bottom a foot down. Then the next thing I know'd they would be giving a pretty wide birth to a place that looked, at first sight, edactly like the other; and I soon found an easy way to tell, was by the grasses."

"If any o' ye know that painter chap," said the unconsciously keen critic, as he prepared to move off, "jest tell him—but it's no use," he said, lowering his voice, "that's good enough city prairie!"—*Cong. Herald.*

PRIM PEOPLE.

There is a set of people, says Dr. Chambers, whom I cannot bear—the pinks of fashionable propriety—whose every word is precise, and whose every movement is unexceptionable; but who although well versed in all the catalogues of polite behavior, have not a particle of soul or cordiality about them. We allow that their manners may be abundantly correct. There may be elegance in every position, not a smile out of place, and not a step that would not bear the measurement of the severest scrutiny. This is all very fine; but what I want is the gayety of social intercourse; the frankness that speaks affability to all, that chases timidity from every bosom, and tells every man in the company to be confident and happy.

Till we have sinned, Satan is a flatterer; when we have sinned he is a tyrant.

WHAT JOHN WESLEY THOUGHT OF RUM SELLERS.

FROM A SERMON ENTITLED "THE USE OF MONEY."

"Neither may we gain by hurting our neighbor in his body. Therefore we may not sell anything which tends to impair health. Such is eminently all that liquid fire, commonly called drams or spirituous liquors. It is true these may have a place in medicine; they may be of use in some bodily disorders; although there would rarely be occasion for them, were it not for the unskilfulness of the practitioner. Therefore such as prepare and sell them only for this end, may keep their conscience clear.

"But who are they? Who prepares them only for this end? Do you know ten such distillers in England? Then excuse these. But all who sell them in the common way to any that will buy, are poisoners general; they murder his majesty's subjects by wholesale, neither does their eye pity or spare. They drive them to hell like sheep. And what is their gain? It is not the blood of these men? Why, then, would envy their large estates, and sumptuous palaces? A curse is in the midst of them; the curse of God cleaves to the stones, the timber, the furniture of them! The curse of God is in their gardens, their walls, their groves; a fire that burns to the nethermost hell! Blood, blood is there; the foundation, the floor, the walls, and the roof, are stained with blood! and canst thou hope, O thou of blood, though thou art clothed in scarlet and fine linen, and feast sumptuously every day! canst thou hope to deliver down thy fields of blood to the third generation. Not so; for there is a God in heaven; therefore thy name shall soon be rooted out. Like as those whom thou hast destroyed, body and soul, thy memorial shall perish with thee."

DISCOVERY OF THE TUSK OF A MASTODON.—On the 27th ult., while a party were excavating in Third street, Cincinnati, about twenty feet below the surface, a portion of the tusk of some ante-diluvian animal, probably a mastodon, was discovered, or, as the laborers term it, a "Macadonian." It is about eight or nine feet long, and as many inches in diameter at the root or larger end, gradually tapering, not exactly to a point, but toward what might be one, twenty-three feet farther along. The tusk, or whatever it may be, is slightly curved, describing the segment of a circle which would be, probably, sixty feet in circumference. It is exceedingly brittle, and quite soft, the interior portion resembling chalk somewhat, and is remarkable for its fine ivory grain. About seven feet of it were saved.

You had better be a poor man and a rich Christian, than a rich man and a poor Christian. You had better do anything bear any thing, and be any thing rather than be a dwarf in grace.

God, saith Calvin, often recompenses the shadows and seeming appearances of virtue, to show the complacency he takes in the ample rewards that he hath reserved for true and sincere piety.

Full vessels may bear many a knock, many a stroke, and yet make no noise: so Christians, who are full of Christ and full of the Spirit, will bear many a blow, many a stroke without murmuring.

A man's most glorious actions will at last be found to be but glorious sins, if he hath made himself, and not the glory of God, the end of those actions.

He who is active and agile, who works as well as wishes, who adds endeavors to his desires will quickly be a cedar in grace.

"Pride," saith Hugo, "was born in Heaven, but forgetting by what way she fell therefrom, she could never find her way thither again."

THE ANALYST.

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